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What politics has done to leadership, as Mr. Cram points out, is to drive most of it into other fields—into commerce, banking, engineering—and to impose upon those who would still be political leaders the condition that they should lead as a man strapped on a horse and driven before a cavalry regiment would lead a charge.

That the Democratic world has been crying in vain since 1914 for a leader great enough to restore leadership to the position from which Democratic methods have degraded it is a grim fact which, of all the grim facts of the war, is the most difficult to face with equanimity.

AN OUTLINE SKETCH OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By George Burton Adams, Litt. D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918.

Just at present, while history is being made and while civilization is at stake, one may see more clearly than it has been usual for men to see in the past that the true interest of history is the progress of civilization.

But with just what aspect of civilization should history chiefly concern itself? The question requires a definite answer, for civilization is a result to which many factors contribute, and the effort to study all of them at once usually results in confusion.

Unquestionably those who insist upon the primary importance of *constitutional* history are essentially right. Those developments in the life of peoples that have to do with the continuing effort to adjust the more or less conflicting claims of liberty and government do, it is plain, mark out in the clearest and broadest outline the advance of civilization and define its meaning. Freedom and discipline—these ideas are fundamental. It is on a moral difference in the conception of these that the vital distinction between *Kultur* and civilization hinges.

The constitutional view is, on the whole, the prevailing view in most books of history. Yet these very books are often found dull by the inexpert reader. The historic narrative seems so slow in reaching the point—the idea that interests and enlightens; and at the same time there is so much that seems like digression! Emphatically the average intelligent reader needs to have some means of relating historic facts and ideas before he begins to read history at all. Possessing this, he can hardly miss an understanding of the story and a true sense of its grandeur, even though his memory retain few details.

An admirable key to English history is supplied by Dr. George Burton Adams in his new book sketching the growth of the English constitution. This treatise is a model of judicious condensation. In its larger point of view, moreover, as well as in its discussions of particular questions, it is, without being too theoretic, notably clear and philosophical.

This larger point of view is important; for the leading ideas about English history and about history and life in general which one obtains from a not too studious reading of Dr. Adams's book are of wide application. In particular, one is made to understand the process of English constitutional growth through unforeseen extensions of principle and through unnoticed changes—as in the unintended develop-

ment of the Small Council into the Exchequer; and one is enabled to understand the true meaning and value of sound compromise. Again, the reader is repeatedly stimulated to draw for himself the important distinction between the logic of precedent and the logic of progress, to grasp which is to find a clue at least to those puzzles regarding justice and law, conservatism and reform, consistency and experiment, which complicate most large public questions and many small private ones. "The historical argument," writes Dr. Adams, in words that are worth remembering, "is never of any validity against the results to which the living process of a nation's growth has brought it. However far they may go beyond the beginnings the past has made, if they are the genuine results of national life, they have a rightfulness of their own which history cannot question." This remark throws light upon the nature of the contest between Parliament and the King in the seventeenth century—and upon much else.

By the discussion of more specific points, too, the author often helps one toward clearer historic judgment. His explanation of the English doctrines that "the King can do no wrong," and that "sovereignty resides in the King and his Parliament," show these ideas to be landmarks of progress and not, as they superficially seem, bulwarks of privilege; and through such discoveries one is brought to a real understanding of the nature and value of English conservatism, one result of which—the retention of the Kingship in a free government—has, paradoxically enough, greatly facilitated the spread of democracy in Europe. Even Germany has borrowed the idea of limited monarchy from England, and, says Dr. Adams, "the entire English constitution, with all its details of public law and practice, could be carried into effect under the present German constitution with only one amendment of importance, the constitution of the upper house and its relation to the lower, and a really democratic government could be secured by a new regulation of the right of suffrage."

It is interesting to observe that Dr. Adams thinks a written constitution not out of accord with the genius of the English Government, and that he looks with favor upon the idea of a federation of British nations.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND ASIATIC CITIZENSHIP. By Sidney L. Gulick. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

That the course followed by the United States with regard to Asiatic immigration has been in theory unjustifiable is a statement that few students of the question would deny. "Eight times in fourteen years," Mr. Sidney Gulick reminds us in his recently published book, "anti-Chinese agitation on the Pacific coast has secured increasingly drastic and obnoxious legislation in Congress. All but one of the measures were passed under political pressure." Treaties were contravened and protests on the part of the Chinese Government were disregarded. The situation with respect to Japan is essentially just as bad. The Japanese Government, it is true, has behaved with fine consideration; the "gentlemen's agreement" works smoothly; yet "so long as Japanese are regarded as ineligible for naturalization,